• 614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/2 cont./

614 887 156 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man, who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man 156 614 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was respected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with 888 776 554 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age defined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer." The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is 776 761 [784] [626] "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way social control was exercised on and among the members of the clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the individual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian 776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes [756] [827] [787] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person because "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own company." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in- 178 614 626 776 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify 614 626 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social control was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions: "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

/3 cont./

614 539 776 Esteban Santis Pin, of the Ijká clan:

Many ants entered the home of the Boj and they asked the Ijká to lend them a home, and they joined there, becoming like chaponales /sic/ to each other since then. The ants did not enter the homes of the "Christian" (people), but the home of the lab; "the people did not talk it over, only the lab talked it over."

/4/ Mateo López Chij, of the Chik clan:

Lightning hit the home of the Boj "because it is very high on the hill." "The lab left" and they took refuge in the home of the Ijká. The members of the clans know this because it is in the home of the lab where "the chuleles (souls) are brought up." Before there were four homes and now there are three, because since that day the Boj and the Ijká live together. The homes are caves.

Diego Domínguez Tzul, of the Ijká clan:

The Boj were ill and the Ijká went to help them and to cure them. The Boj said: "It is good that we join the Ijká." It was the lab that spoke, not the Christians; "but the lab speak the same as people do, that is why they drank, talked, and gathered together." The people know this because those of them who have lab told them. The Boj were those who wanted the union with the Ijká, "and they said that when the lab became drunk."

Miguel Ordóñez, of the Chik clan:

"The lab of the Boj talked and drank with the lab of the Ijká, and presently they joined. Perhaps someone with a lab dreamed about this and then told it to his companions."

/4 cont./

614 539 776 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the Ijká clan:

It was arranged in the times of the old chuneles, when the lab talked it over, there where they live. The chuneles later heard about it through their lab, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the Chik clan:

Ants went into the home of the Boj, and the latter went to the home of the Ijká, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the lab spoke, but the chuneles knew and told it to their chapomales.

Domingo López Uax, of the Boj clan; now of the Ijká:

The lab of the Boj and of the Ijká spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are chapomales and cannot marry."

614 551 177 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 614 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the Chik clan, 31 of the Chejeb, 21 of the Ijká, and 7 of the Boj (now incorporated into the Ijká clan).

/5 cont./

551 The great majority of the native surnames could not be
•614 translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and
424 constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly
551 belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This cus-
613 tom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we
614 have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 A native from another municipality or group who comes to
551 Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated
553 into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his
614 native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born
[829] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

/6 cont./

621 [551] [127] The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chiklajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The [361] [368] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621 551 Even though at present there are persons from one culibal living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say [614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

/6 cont./

	Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
551 621 ●614	19 Chik	14 Chik
	13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
	22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [65] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

/7 cont./

621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
[651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

601
128 Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601

bankil	a man's older brother
xibel	a woman's older brother
uix	older sister; father's sister
kitsín	younger siblings of both sexes
tat	father
me	mother
nichán	a man's children
kaal	a woman's children

/11 cont./

60 | and mu (brother-in-law) instead of kichán, preference being given to the relationship through the paternal lineage or clan over the term corresponding to this consanguineous relative, but of the maternal clan. This rule is applied to any relative by affinity, with the exception of parents-in-law, sons-in-law, and daughters-in-law, even though in referring to these relatives one hears said: "my mother-in-law is my sister" or "my father-in-law is my chapomal." The terms that designate the son-in-law (nial) and the daughter-in-law (kalib) are used by both EGOS; but not their reciprocals, which not only take into account the sex of the relative, but also the sex of EGO. These reciprocals are compound forms, formed by the above plus the suffixes mamal (old man) and meel (old woman) for father-in-law and mother-in-law, respectively: nial-mamal (father-in-law) and nial-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a male EGO, and kalib-mamal (father-in-law) and kalib-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a female EGO. The brothers of parents-in-law are named in the same way, even though there is a tendency to limit this nomenclature to the collateral parents-in-law, calling the father-in-law's sister "sister-in-law," and the mother-in-law's brother simply "gentleman" /Sp. "señor"/ (tatik), the same as a non-relative. The terms used in the designation of the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are three: a man calls his wife's brother and his sister's husband bal; a woman calls her husband's sister and her brother's wife jauán, and mu is used by a man and a woman to designate a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex, that is to say, wife's sister, a woman's sister's husband, the husband's brother, and a man's brother's wife. The terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are extended so far as to include all of the members of the clan to which the spouse belongs.

[614] [613] In this kinship system we see how the nomenclature is primordially based on the grouping into exogamous clans, stressing the paternal and maternal lineages so far as to include all the members of the two clans to which these lineages belong. The parallel and cross lines are markedly differentiated. We can say that there is fusion between lineal and collateral relatives --

/11 cont./

601 father and his brother, mother and her sister -- using for this class of relatives the /12/ same terms, even though making use of a suffix that distinguishes real parents from the classificatory ones, and in the same way among their reciprocals, as we have noted above. In ordinary conversation the suffix may be eliminated, thus confusing the real relatives with the classificatory ones. The children of these relatives are all brothers and sisters among themselves.

601 611 This type of system seems to have its origin in the one known by the name of "Omaha," whose most outstanding characteristic is the classification of the male descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, with the mother's brother, and the classification of the female descendants, through the male line, of this same relative with the mother's sister. Nevertheless, in Cancuc there is a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichán both the male and female descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, without any distinction of sex, which, according to the rule of the uniform reciprocals, brings with it on the part of a female EGO the designation of kichán for the children of the father's sister, in place of the kaal-jún used by a woman for this class of relatives. Furthermore, we are faced with the fact that the descendants of the mother's brother through the female line are no longer considered as relatives; that is to say, the descendants of a woman who is designated by the term mee-jún, and who, according to the rule of uniform descent, should 601 receive the title of "siblings," are not considered as such. This •614 disequilibrium tends to disappear with the elimination of the term mee-jún for this class of relatives and the extension of the term kichán for the designation of the same, embracing all the members of the maternal clan, that is to say, all those whom the mother of EGO calls "brother" and "sister." The term kichán, which formerly denoted "man of my mother's clan," would now mean "every person of my mother's clan."

[114] We have not been able to obtain the kinship terms corresponding to the descendants of the grandparents' siblings, since in the genealogies that we possess these terms do not appear because of having been replaced by those applied to clan siblings, or chapomales, or to members of the maternal clan, due to marriages concluded with persons belonging to these clans, there existing, as we have already indicated, a preference for these terms over those.

/16/

601
•614 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601
602
614 An individual, when born, is related to the members of two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use
[609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582
587
614
614
595 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belonging to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [774] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister 582 and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 764 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 114 122 Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 [177] [181] This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the community. In the most conservative groups (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 423 613 614 According to a document dated 1861, which I found in the possession of the Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichílok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichílok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichílok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichílok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria família, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxíliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

000 ponerles sus mojones y a darles al posesión que les corresponde segun el número de ellos.

"Donde principio parar primer mojón *Busulton Pacton* que está en el camino derecho; 2° mojón *Oxloton* que está en el camino; 3er. mojón *Tzovilton*. 4° mojón *Tequelton*, mojón con Pedro Moreno; 5° mojón *Yolilnelej Lomchen*; 6° mojón de acuerdo con Juan Gómez Bet y Martin Sanchez Chelap se llama la raya *Teguel Canté* que es también la raya con Manuel Chinbak; 7° mojón *Tequelton* raya única con Marcos Hernandez Lopez y Diego Lopez y Diego Giron Vázquez; 8° mojón y último *Basulton Pacton*.

"Habiendo quedado todos los vecinos colindantes contentos, ofreciendo ambos que en lo sucesive no tendrán el menor disgusto, pues, son nativos de su propio pueblo, bajo el concepto que si alguno delinquiese en trastornar el orden en que han quedado, el agraviado lo pondrá en conocimiento del Juez para aberiguarlo y aplicarle la pena que merezca, para acuya seguridad son testigos Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok y Gobernadores Diego Méndez Chizna y Nicolas Jiménez Acux. Por los testigos y Gobernadores que no saben firmar. Abril 12 de 1861 y como testigo y escribano Alonso Santis

423 The descendants of the Gómez Ichiloks
613 still live in the same paraje of Tzajalchen
614 and share the same parcel. In other lineages
the original parcel was subdivided on agree-
[178] ment between the interested parties. In this
way single individuals now own pieces of
land, a type of property ownership that is
becoming more general as the old social
organization based on clans and lineages
gradually breaks up.

423 The parcels can be rented to people of
427 other lineages and of other communities.
Often the Tzeltal of Oxchuc rent their par-
cels to natives from Tenejapa or Cancuc
[613] who are their immediate neighbors. Pay-
[614] ment, made with food, chicha, and money,
must be shared by the most important mem-
bers of the same clan other than the ones
of the same lineage (Villa Rojas, 1947, ch.
19).

[P 211-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [199] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encines, and Rodriguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means 'head of the name.'

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

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[Text continues on p. 214-B]

614 exception, both names (lineage and clan)
613 are inherited from the father.

[178] In the more acculturated communities the
[612] clan and lineage system tends to disappear
and to be replaced by the bilateral system,
[582] characteristic of Ladino society. In Aguaca-
tenango, despite the belief that there is a
relationship between people of the same
613 Spanish name, they may marry. Moreover,
they are starting to be ashamed of using
the indigenous name differentiating the
lineages. B. Metzger states (1959, p. 18):

[551] Lineage names appear to be used as surnames
within the community—as we have discovered

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4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

613 by overhearing them spoken in unguarded mo-
551 ments—but their existence is vigorously denied or only cautiously admitted to outsiders. As a result, we have not been able to discover how these names are distributed in the community, how wide the lineage is, and whether or not kinship terms are applied throughout.

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[614] In the more conservative municipios the clans are not centralized but dispersed throughout the parajes. Lineages are now fragmented, and the common ancestor is no longer remembered. Generally these lineages are localized in one or two parajes, but neither can remember its genealogy further

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613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

• 614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about 614 626 887 behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

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583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil registry. The traditional marriage is an ar-
584 rangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the petition. The visits to the girl's house must be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood. This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 614 These items are presented with the greatest formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 184 Until recently in Cancuc the custom obtained of making these marriage arrange-

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] • [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they 586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 Finally, to bring all these duties to an

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/Document of Lands of the Gómez Ichilok

On account of the petition of the citizens Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gómez Ichilok, another Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, another Domingo Gómez Ichilok, another Diego Gómez Ichilok and his son Diego Gómez Ichilok, and lastly his minor son, Manuel Gómez Ichilok, and as formerly was the custom in this town that, according to the brothers of one family, a piece of common land is marked off for them so that in the future there will be no disputes with the neighbors as is usually the case, we the Governors, Auxiliaries, Justices, Scribes and Witnesses, give the paraje /place/ called Tzajalchén for them to put their landmarks on and to give them the possession that corresponds to them according to their number.

"Where began to stand the first landmark Busulton Pacton which is on the road to the right; 2nd landmark Oxloton which is on the road; 3rd landmark Tzovilton; 4th landmark Tequelton, landmark with Pedro Moreno; 5th landmark Yolilnelej Lomchen; 6th landmark in accord with Juan Gómez Bet and Martin Sanchez Chelap is called the line Teguel Cante which is also the line with Manuel Chinbak; 7th landmark Tequelton only line with Marcos Hernandez López and Diego Lopez and Diego Giron Vásquez; 8th and last landmark Basulton Pacton.

"Having left all the bordering neighbors content, offering both that in the future they will not have the least disagreement, as they are natives of their own town, under the judgment that if anyone is guilty in upsetting the order in which it has been left, the injured party will put in the cognizance of the Judge to investigate it and to apply the punishment that it deserves, for whose security the witnesses are Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok and Governors Diego Méndez Chizna and Nicolas Jiménez Acux. For the witnesses and Governors who do not know how to sign their names. April 12 of 1861 and as witness and scribe Alonso Santis./

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592 on the basis of the age and sex characteristics of the candidates, nor do they describe house membership in these terms.

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• 614 The two principles in terms of which the Aguacatenangeros would describe the membership of the household are rules of relations. The first rule states that members of the house should be lineally related to some one or more other persons in the house through males. The second rule states that: if the first rule does not apply, then the person in the house is a spouse of one such person to whom the first rule does apply. From the diagram, then, we may construct--with the aid of these two rules and the convention that the "over-under twenty" contrast is equivalent to the "with spouse-without spouse" contrast.

1. A is married to a, but either A is dead or a is dead.
2. B is married to b, and B is a lineal descendant of A.
3. C is married to c, and C is a lineal descendant of B.
4. D through I are unmarried siblings and are the lineal descendants of (most probably) C.

This may be expressed in a slightly more convenient manner by the following expression.[1]

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[104] [1]Capital symbol = male. Small symbol = female. = = married. - = offspring. o = sibling. Slash through letter = deceased. Slash between letters = no relation expressed between letters.

See A. K. Romney's forthcoming work on this subject.

592 614 1. A = a, but A or a.

2. B = b, and A = a - B.

3. C = c, and B = b - c.

3. (D o e o F o G o h o I) and C = c - (D . . . I).

A full expression of the maximal household may then be written: A - B / B = b - C / C = c - (D o e o . . . I).

592 The maximal complement of a house expresses one configuration of the residence pattern. Variations in household composition consistent with this configuration occur where a household lacks members in certain age-sex positions--e.g., childless couples, widows, and couples with or without living children, living apart from their parents. The minimal complement of the household is two people, either of same or different generations; no individual lives alone.

One of the variations in household composition which is inconsistent with the above configuration is that of married
591 siblings, with their spouses, living in the same house. Generally speaking, the movement of individuals from one house to another takes place at the time of marriage or soon thereafter.
[582] Siblings marry in an order relative to their relative age, the oldest marrying first. If the marrying sibling is a male, he will bring his wife to live with him in his father's house. If the marrying sibling is a female, she will live with her husband in his father's house. If there are further males in the sibling

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology (1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme*, or local group of genealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzeltal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje*,

1. In the Coatlán, Oaxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen (1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*ḥtatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niẖ'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalniẖ'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age relative to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an

obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grandfather and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,